563 According to a report at a meeting held by the Hui Cultural Association at Peking, ten autonomous hsien and chou have been established for the Hui people in China.[16] The scattered Hui communities in different parts of Shantung have their representatives in local governments under the present Communist regime. There are indications, however, that the Hui people in Li-ch'eng, Shantung, probably have their own government.[17] If this is the case, Li-ch'eng's autonomous government would be the only one of its kind outside Northwest China and Inner Mongolia.

C. The Tan People in Fukien

563 162 A Communist publication lists the Tan people as one of the minority nationalities in Fukien. The Tan people are boatmen on the lower Min River, near Foochow. In physical appearance they are indistinguishable from the rest of the Fukienese population.[18] Their numerical strength is unknown.

IV. POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE COMMUNISTS

563 • 657 Communist cadres working among ethnic minorities elsewhere in China are cautioned against exhibiting Han Chinese chauvinism in order not to arouse the "narrow nationalism" of ethnic minorities; in East China, no such caution has so far been voiced. Communist ethnic

16. NCNA, April 15, 1955, Survey of China Mainland Press, No. 1031, April 20, 1955, Hong Kong, American Consulate Gen'l, pp. 32-33.

17. People's Daily, April 28, 1954.

18. Ch'u Shao-t'ang, Hsin Chung-kuo Ti-li [Geography of New China], Shanghai, Ta-chung t'u-shu chü, 1953, pp. 159-160.

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157 policies elsewhere in China emphasize "winning the leaders of ethnic minorities who are influential among their own peoples"; in East China no such leaders have been found. Unlike the ethnic minorities in the Southwest, who may look to Tibet or to countries across the border for cultural and political leadership, and unlike the ethnic minorities in South China, who are so scattered that their acute social and economic problems take inter-ethnic group forms, the ethnic minorities in East China are apparently docile and contented residents and do not constitute a problem for the Communist administration. These minorities could be weaned away by the surrounding Han Chinese culture, and the Communists see no need for treating these minorities separately by awakening them politically, building up their minority economy, or reviving minority languages and folklore. The gradual assimilation of minorities is not a Communist achievement, but the Communists prefer to say that it is the result of a program of "equality for all nationalities."

The Hui people in East China are accorded some special attention by the Communists. It is clear that this is not due to their numerical strength in Shantung but to their significance in the national scene. The recent activities of the Islamic Association in Peking and the Communist government's emphasis on the Islamic aspects of the Hui people's activities indicate that the Communists intend to make use of the Hui people in order that other Moslem peoples in China may be brought closer to Peking.[19]

19. People's Daily, September 27, 1952.

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•657 The lack of significant content in ethnic policy and administration in the region has forced the Communists to publicize the activities of ethnic minorities there whenever possible, as illustrations of progress and political enlightenment under Communist leadership. The Communist Party newspapers blatantly publicized the fact that 470,000 minority nationals, among a total of 90,000,000 voters in this region, exercised their "democratic political right" in the popular election of 1954, and that many people so elected were of non-Han origin.[20]

In Shanghai, a number of people who are publicized as "minority residents" welcome and entertain visitors from ethnic groups in other parts of China and delegations from other countries. Their names are frequently found in newspaper headlines and their photographs are displayed on magazine covers.[21] In fact, these people look like devotees of a political cause who express their political convictions. Since their relationships with their own ethnic groups are artificially fostered and modulated by the Communist government, they are not representatives of ethnic minorities.

Although the small number of minority nationals in East China do not present the Communist administration with serious minority problems, their presence provides a ready instrument for propaganda depicting equality and fraternity among ethnic groups in China. Most of the propaganda has no immediate bearing on

20. Ibid, April 28, 1954.

21. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, May 5, 1952; January 5, 1953.

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the welfare of the ethnic groups involved.

There is, however, one unique feature of the ethnic policy of Communist China which stems from the present political situation between the Chinese Mainland and the island of Formosa. The latter is regarded by the Communists as a province of East China lost to Chiang Kai-shek. Hence Communist China claims to be the fatherland of the 160,000 aborigines, the Kao-shan people, in the eastern part of the island. The Communists have gathered together a number of "representatives of the Kao-shan people" to sit in Peking among the delegates from other ethnic minorities and make speeches advocating the "recovery" of Formosa.

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22. People's Daily, July 13, 1952.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1p,
Sociological Bac' ground

HEALTH AND SANITATION

I. BACKGROUND

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Organized public health work as part of the task of the government in China may be traced back to 1902, when the Peiyang Sanitary Department was established. Because of plagues in 1911 and 1917, organizations for the prevention of epidemics also came into being. After 1927, under the Nationalist Government, there was a Ministry of Health, later reorganized into the National Health Administration. Among the six departments of the National Health Administration, one was the Department of Health Organization and Services, which promoted local health work, local sanitary projects, and local training of health personnel, and another was the Department of Epidemic Prevention, which was charged with the prevention and control of epidemic and endemic diseases, anti-epidemic services, and the manufacture of biological products.[1]

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1. China Handbook, 1937-1945, compiled by China Ministry of Information, Macmillan, 1949, p. 490.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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744 Normal development of health measures was greatly disrupted by the long and destructive war of resistance against Japan (1937-45) and the internal conflicts which followed. This was especially true in East China, where large areas were either under Japanese occupation or controlled for long periods by the successive puppet regimes. Because of the long war against Japan much of the Nationalist Government' effort in unoccupied areas was devoted to the Army Medical Service, which was affiliated with the Ministry of Military Affairs from the beginning of 1938.[2]

In May 1946, after World War II, the Nationalist Government officially returned to Nanking. Amid the manifold attempts at rehabilitation and reconstruction, the restoration and reorganization of health work was begun. Some statistics for East China are available for the years 1946-47, but it is clear that little could have been accomplished within so short a time. In 1947 there were in the five eastern provinces of Shantung, Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, and Fukien, including the municipalities of Shanghai, Nanking, and Tsingtao, 143 government health organizations at the provincial level, with a total of 6,832 medical and health personnel,

2. The China Year Book, 1938-39 Issue, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1939, p. 652.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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657 744 and 388 more government health organizations at the county level.[3] As to preventive medical care in 1946 in East China 1,652 people received vaccination against smallpox, 3,116,677 received inoculation against typhoid, and 484,086 received inoculation with a vaccine to combat both cholera and typhoid.[4] These statistics are incomplete and cannot provide a satisfactory picture of health conditions in East China before 1949. However, they offer a background for an understanding of the efforts of the Nationalist Government in this field. (It should be noted for purposes of comparison that the total population in East China in 1948 was 133,139,777.)

II. COMMUNIST OFFICIAL REPORTS

The initial task in health work for the Communists in East China, as in the other regions, was to restore the originally existing public health agencies and to put them back into operation, and, then, to reorganize and mold them to Communist needs and principles.

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 341, 342, 344.
4. Ibid., p. 347.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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657 744 Adhering to the directives of the Central People's Government in Peking, the regional government of East China concentrated its energy on preventive work in its public health program.

On July 15, 1950, Shu T'ung, chairman of the Department of Cultural and Educational Affairs of the East China Military and Political Committee, made a progress report,[5] stating that current emphasis was on prevention and epidemic control in famine areas. In the spring of 1950, epidemic prevention corps were sent out to various flood areas. In northern Anhwei alone, according to the chairman, as many as 120,000 people were treated by the corps. In addition, epidemic prevention centers were established in Fukien, Chekiang, Southern Kiangsu, and Shantung. It was reported that large numbers of people were cured of bubonic plague in Fukien and of kala-azar in Shantung. In 1950 the Health Bureau of East China was said to have manufactured 15,000,000 units of vaccine against typhoid and cholera and 18,000,000 units of vaccine against smallpox. Also scheduled to be produced in 1950 were 110,000 cc. of diptheria anti-toxin, 75,000,000 cc. of anti-whooping-cough serums, and 200,000 units of B.C.G. vaccine against tuberculosis. The report announced that in Shanghai from January to June 1950, 4,281,811

5. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao Hui-pien 1950 [Compendium of Government Reports 1950], Peking, Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1951, pp. 563-64.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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657 vaccinations and inoculations for the prevention 744 of epidemics were administered. The same report stated that in the two municipalities of Shanghai and Nanking, an estimated 50 per cent of the population would be inoculated within the year.

About sixteen months later, on November 19, 1951, Shu T'ung submitted another report to the fourth session of the East China Military and Political Committee.[6] He reported first on the progress of preventive operations and then on the development of public health agencies in East China. In the whole region, he said, there were 80 preventive service units with more than 3,000 medical and health personnel attached to them. During 1951, 38,600,000 people in East China were said to have been vaccinated against smallpox and 13,670,000 people were reported to have been given inoculations against various other contagious diseases. According to the report, cholera, typhoid, dysentery, and bubonic plague were under control in the East China Region, and, even in the famine areas and the Hwai River construction projects, recurrent fever typhoid, and smallpox had been checked. Shu also emphasized the danger of epidemics of schistosomiasis and kala-azar; he revealed no specific information about either infectious disease but stated that valuable experience had been gained.

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6. "Report on Culture and Education" by Shu T'ung, Current Background, No. 160, American Consulate General, Hong Kong, February 20, 1952, pp. 15-18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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657 744 As to the development of public health agencies, Shu T'ung reported that 382 county health centers serving 95 per cent of the county areas of East China had been established, and 660 ch'ü clinics had been set up in 17 per cent of the ch'ü areas of the region. (For purposes of comparison, it should be stated that the population for East China in 1953 was 162,685,262. In industrial cities such as Wu-hsi, Shanghai, and Hsü-chou in Kiangsu Province, Tsinan, Tsingtao, and the Tzu-po mining district in Shantung Province, and Hangchow in Chekiang Province, sanatoriums, health stations, and health teams were provided for the workers. According to the report, labor insurance became compulsory in 1,042 industrial units, and 1,400,000 workers and their families were covered by these benefits.

III. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

744 One of the most significant early documents of the Chinese Communist regime was the Common Program. In the Common Program, the health of women and children is given special attention in Article 48, which states, "...attention shall be paid to the protection of the health of mothers, infants, and children."[7] The Constitution, adopted on September 20, 1954, provides for

7. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 18.

1:Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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V. OBSERVATIONS

847 1. In East China, infanticide is still practiced in certain areas. It is not only a serious matter but shows the complexity of the social problems and the uneven development in different parts and communities of China. It was revealed that in the province of Anhwei, according to incomplete statistics for the first half of 1952, the number of infants abandoned and killed totalled 1,972, and that the majority of them were female infants. The Communists blamed this situation on inequality between the sexes, superstition, and the feudal system of the old society and "feudalistic ideas" about marriage.

744 657 2. A few months after the beginning of warfare in Koreas in 1950, the Communist government in Peking passed an act to assume control of all cultural, educational, relief, and religious institutions which had been subsidized by United States financial sources. The total amount of the subsidy was given as $41,900,000, and of this amount 14.7 per cent was used for medicine and health. The number of hospitals financed by the United States[32] was given as over two hundred. According to an investigation made by the Japanese East Asiatic Research

32. Compendium of Government Reports, p. 188.

1:Stanford U. S-4,. 5 1956 AF15 East China
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744 Institute (Tôa kenkyujo) on foreign investments
657 in China during World War II, there were 73 medical and health institutions supported by United States financial sources in the five provinces of East China.[33] Coastal provinces with treaty ports such as Shanghai, Nanking, Ningpo, and Foochow, long under western influence, had a large share of the subsidy.

A number of public health organizations which the Chinese Communists count as their own were taken from American hands in 1950, as were other health organizations supported by other foreign sources at a somewhat later date. In the evaluation of recent statistical data on public health on the mainland of China, this factor should be kept in mind. The lack of information on such matters as the number of hospitals beds and the number of inpatients and outpatients precludes accurate evaluation of Communist published materials. Furthermore, nutrition is just as important to good health as preventive medicine. Insufficient food and malnutrition, which seem to be prevalent in Communist China but receive little mention in Communist publications, may nullify all their efforts in the field of health and sanitation.

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33. Tâo kenkyujo, Sho gaikoku no tai Shi toshi [Foreign Investments in China], Tokyo, 1943, pp. 530-38.

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746 Association for War Relief. Foreign agencies such as the United China Relief and the American Red Cross in China, and British and Canadian contributions distributed through various media, also helped to aid China in her distress.

The Ministry of Social Affairs as a department under the Executive Yuan of the Nationalist Government was established in November 1940. Throughout the 1940's, during the war years in Chungking as well as in the postwar years in Nanking, this ministry led and guided the development of public welfare and helped to co-ordinate the work of the relief and welfare organizations. The following chart will give some idea of the state of public welfare in 1947 in East China.[3]

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3. Chung-hua Min-kuo T'ung-chi Nien-chien [Statistical Yearbook of China], Nanking, Bureau of Statistics, 1948, pp. 365-72.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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747 On November 9, 1943, China became a member of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). The Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (CNRRA) was established in January 1945 as a department of the Nationalist Government on the ministerial level, as was the China Office of UNRRA. In co-operation the two administrations planned and worked on the gigantic problems of relief and rehabilitation in postwar China.[4] Despite the great contribution to Chinese welfare resulting from the efforts of peaceful projects of this sort, the Chinese National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was eliminated by the Chinese Communist when they became the rulers of Mainland China.

II. CALAMITIES SINCE 1949

731 Since the establishment of the Communist regime in China, many natural disasters have occurred. Droughts, floods, locust and insect invasions, frost, windstorms, and hail-storms have caused famines which began in the rural districts and spread throughout the nation.

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4. China Handbook 1937-45, pp. 538-41.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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747 areas during the busy farm seasons, and 507 creches in factories and organizations were caring for some 20,000 children. In 1952 there were 19,000 primary schools in East China, a 12 per cent increase over the previous year, and New Youth, the official publication of the Young Pioneers of East China, was reported[33] to have a circulation of 400,000.

As was the case of the Immaculate Conception Orphanage in Canton, two Catholic orphanages in Nanking were made targets of Communist propaganda attack. In April 1951, when the so-called revolutionary movement of the Chinese Catholics was underway, the Sacred Heart Orphanage and the Tz'u-ai Orphanage were branded as instruments of imperialism masquerading as philanthropy and religion. It was said that the death rate in these two orphanages exceeded 78 per cent. They were taken over by the Nanking branch of the People's Relief Administration of China, and the two were amalgamated into one institution under the name of Nanking Municipal Orphanage.[34]

657 729 VI. AID TO FAMILIES OF "MARTYRS" AND SERVICEMEN

33. Liberation Daily, June 1, 1952, p. 1.

34. Nan-fang Jih-pao [South China Daily], Canton, May 30, 1952, p. 4.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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729 In Communist China, aid to the families of "martyrs" and servicemen has been given great attention. The duty of concern for the welfare of the members of the armed forces and their families was specified in Article 25 of the Common Program, one of the earliest documents adopted by the Peking regime. It states: "Dependents of those who have given their lives for the revolution and of the members of the revolutionary forces who are in need shall receive preferential treatment from the state and from society. The People's Government shall make appropriate arrangements for disabled or retired servicemen who have participated in the revolutionary war, providing them with the means of livelihood or with occupations."[35] However, the nationwide campaign did not begin until late 1950, which indicates that the activity was probably the result of the warfare in Korea.[36] On December 11, 1950, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime promulgated five sets of regulations relating to compensation for dependants of servicemen. These were provisional regulations governing preferential treatment of families of revolutionary "martyrs" and servicemen; preferential treatment of, and compassionate payments to, disabled

35. The Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1949, p. 10.

36. Relief Work Under the Chinese Communists p. 18.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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657 servicemen; citations and compassionate pay-
729 ments for members of the People's Militia and laborers in military service injured or killed.[37] The preferential treatment of families of "martyrs" and servicemen included land and farming implements, government scholarships for their children, lower prices, discounts, etc. Only in cases of extreme hardship were direct payments given.

At the time of the lunar New Year in 1951, which fell on February 6 in that year, the Communists promoted a campaign to honor the families of the Chinese People's Volunteers to the Korean war and the People's Liberation Army. Since then, the lunar New Year, usually called the Spring Festival, and the Chinese Communist Army Day, August 1, have been made occasions for honoring the families of servicemen.

As part of the program to aid the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen, those in the city able to work have been taught various handicrafts to assure their livelihood; in the rural areas, for those unable to work a system of substitute-tilling has been adopted whereby land owned by dependents of servicemen is cultivated for them.

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37. New China Monthly, Vol. III, No. 3, Jan. 1951, pp. 516-21.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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729 In the summer of 1952, the East China Region reported 50 per cent of the families of "martyrs" and servicemen living in rural areas were being aided by substitute-tilling. In some places as Wu-hsing in Chekiang, Nan-t'ung and Hsü-ch'ien in Kiangsu, Tsou-hsien in Shantung, and certain districts in Fukien, the percentage was reported to be much higher. The special mention accorded specific areas seem to imply unsatisfactory performances and difficulties elsewhere.[38] Progress in setting up a fixed system in substitute-tilling was again reported early in 1953, particularly in Shantung and Chekiang. As an encouraging example in the over-all situation of the dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen, this report cited the progress in one village in Shantung containing 129 families of "martyrs" and servicemen. In this village in 1949 there was only one ploughing animal (probably an ox or horse); in 1953 there were 20 ploughing animals. In 1949 a single family in the village raised pigs; in 1953, some 25 families could afford to raise pigs.[39]

In the cities, placement of the unemployed and the organization for their benefit of production works were the two main tasks. In

38. Liberation Daily, July 30, 1952, p. 1.
39. Ibid., Feb. 14, 1953, p. 4.

657 729 Shanghai and Tsingtao, according to the same report, some 4,000 dependents of "martyrs" and servicemen obtained work in the first half of 1952, with an average monthly pay of 400,000 - 500,000 JMP dollars. For the same purpose, the East China regional government appropriated in the period a special fund of JMP$65,000,000,000 (approximately US$ 2,950,000).[40]

657 729 872 In 1953 seven primary schools for the children of "revolutionary martyrs" had been established and eleven more were under construction. Approximately 1,000 children were enrolled. A monthly food ration for each student consisted of some 11 pounds of meat, about two and half pounds of fat, more than five pounds of eggs supplemented by bean-curd and cabbage. (Wheat, rice and other grains were not mentioned. Presumably, they were not then rationed.) Every student was issued two suits of summer clothes, two suits of underwear, and one suit of cotton padded clothes (for winter) each year and one overcoat every two years.[41]

657 729 According to a broadcast by the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Peking regime in January 1955, incomplete statistics from 13 provinces showed more than 60 per cent of the

40. Ibid.
41. Liberation Daily, Feb. 10, 1953, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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657 families of "martyrs" and servicemen were
729 participating in mutual-aid groups and co-operatives, and many had been elected officials of these organizations. Others were elected as delegates to the People's Congress or to village cadres.[42] The People's Daily (Jan. 25, 1955) reported that 382 rehabilitated veterans had been elected "labor models" in July 1954. The same paper reported that there was a 20 per cent increase in the number of families of servicemen joining mutual-aid groups and co-operatives in 1954 over the number in 1953.

VII. CONCLUSION

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746 In almost all documents concerning public welfare and relief in Communist China the emphasis is on production and labor power rather than human life and welfare. In regard to famine relief in the rural areas as well as unemployment relief in the cities, the people are asked to save themselves by "self-help-through production". Even their concern for the welfare of women and children centers upon the labor power which may be derived. In the charter of the People's Relief Administration, Article 2 explains its function in the following sentence: "This Administration is an organization of the people under

42. New China Monthly, No. 2, Feb. 1955, p. 19.

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657 746 the leadership of the Central People's Government to unite and guide.. relief and welfare workers to help the Government in the organization of the masses for the promoting of production and economy, labor and mutual-aid, so that the relief and welfare works for the masses of the people shall be enhanced."[43] The emphasis is on production rather than on relief.

000 When one understands the Communist attitude toward public welfare, it is easier to grasp the overwhelming plight of those within the Soviet orbit who become the victims of calamities. Perhaps no written passage could illuminate the situation so vividly and succinctly as a parable recounted in one of the ancient Chinese classics.

> "In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came on a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave...'Your wailing', said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow upon sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly, my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed... and now my son

43. Ho-pei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily], Paoting, May 5, 1950, p. 1.

184 of resistance. There is reason to believe that
565 the poor farmer in East China today is less happy than he was in the days immediately after the completion of land reform. The possibility still exists that changes in government policy may regain for the regime some of the farmer's enthusiasm. However, the fact that authorities in Shanghai have had to initiate a drive to send many peasants back to their villages indicates that life in rural communities in East China does not offer incentive. As a result farmers continue to flood metropolitan centers in search of work and a better living.

• 187 Available reports show that neither the
565 government nor the farmers are satisfied with the amount of relief and welfare work done thus far, nor with the manner in which this work is done. The Communists claim that the productive harvests in 1951-53 in East China were attributable to the completion of flood control projects on the Hwai River in Anhwei and on the I and Shu rivers in Shantung. Some of the farmers may believe this claim, but the majority will measure the "benevolence" of the new regime against the few benefits so far received.

186 The Chinese farmer's picture of a foreign
565 culture is derived from contact with foreign missionaries. At one time foreign churches were established in all parts of East China with the exception of a few remote districts in south-western Fukien. Government efforts to foster